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MR. O'CONNELL.

IN a letter published in the last *Register*, taken from a Dublin newspaper, and bearing the name of General GEORGE COCKBURN, there is a passage which, had I seen it before it went to the press of the *Register*, would have excluded the whole letter; though some parts of it were very well worthy of public attention. I allude to the part in which the writer speaks of Mr. O'Connell, whom he says he believes "to be **BRIBED** by the Whigs to agitate the question of repeal." Besides this, the General has thought proper to give us here a pretty copious specimen of as gross nonsense as ever appeared in print. But, it is the charge of bribery that I beg Mr. O'Connell's pardon for having inserted in the *Register*, assuring him and the public that I deem this to be a monstrous slander, from whatever source proceeding. I know General Cockburn to be a very clever and a very worthy man; but I know of no right that he has, to put forth a libel like this against any man, and especially against a man situated as Mr. O'Connell is at this moment. To be sure, I took the letter from a Dublin paper, and ought to have known the contents of the whole of it before I published it; but I had not time to read the whole of the letter; and as to my right to offer these my opinions upon it, that would have been equally good, whether I had inserted it or not. I repeat, that I beg pardon of Mr. O'Connell, for having, unwittingly, given circulation to this slander against him.

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TO THE

"SISTER-SERVICES."

I SHOULD like to be informed by some committee, or somebody belonging to your Government, whether or not it is you who have had the audacity to insult the people of England, by erecting a monument upon ground which is public property, and sticking upon the top thereof, brass, or marble, or something, representing the person of the late Duke of York. If a very severe cough and hoarseness did not prevent me, you should have this question put to you much nearer the spot of the erection. It is material to know, however whether it be the Government of the country, or the Government of the "sister-services," which has caused this insult to be offered to the people. Yours is a GOVERNMENT, and a powerful Government, too; much more efficient for its purposes than the Government at Whitehall. You are a body of persons, consisting of ten thousand at the least; no small part of you are magistrates; and you draw from the country a revenue, for your own private emolument, and without even any pretended services to be rendered in return, of nearly five millions a year. The cost of there being about seven hundred Admirals and generals for the people to pay to maintain in luxury; this bare cost is more than sufficient to stamp the character of the system by which the people are governed. The thing is too shameful for any Ministry on earth not to wish to change it; but, you are too powerful for any Ministry on earth, unless there were a House of Commons to stand at the back of that Ministry, and to urge it on to pull down your power. And why is there not? This is a question which is answered in a moment, or, indeed, which requires no answer at all, when we consider that those who work to pay the taxes have nothing to say in choosing the members

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of the Parliament. Much more might be said: the baseness of the ten-pound voters is nothing more than what was expected. There is no hope in this source; and the people seem, at last, to have perceived it.

Leaving these reflections for the present, let me draw your attention to the representation of a real battle, in which you were engaged, against a handful of farmers, who had quitted their houses for the purpose of defending their country against you, who were then its invaders. I suppose you have a library, or half-a-dozen libraries, in your chambers of Trafalgar-square. You will have good light through those panes of glass, costing five pounds each, to read the *LIFE OF JACKSON*; I dare say you have splendid pictures, to record your exploits on the "*Peninsula*"; and how the devil it came to be a peninsula I do not know: it being no more a peninsula than Scotland is a peninsula: a peninsula means a thing which is almost an island. Johnson tells us that it comes from the two Latin words *pene insula*; "a piece of land almost surrounded by the sea." Now, from the Bay of Biscay to the Gulf of Lyons, is a distance of *three hundred English miles*; that is to say, a stretch of country equal, very nearly, to the whole length of England; and yet you will persist in calling this a peninsula. This name originated in your stupid, blundering affectation. You must talk in a language different from the rest of mankind. *Spain* and *Portugal* were names too vulgar: they were not sufficiently mystical to humbug the people in good style, though very little is required to humbug them, God knows. *Spain* and *Portugal* appear to be pieces of ground well known, and having nothing peculiarly terrific in them; but, "*THE PENINSULA*"! oh, the devil, he must be a hero, indeed, who had been able to face the dragons on the Peninsula! and now we have got glued to us the everlasting curse of deeds performed on the Peninsula: question a fellow's right to a parcel of public money every year, and he silences you in a moment by saying,

"What! did not I serve on the Peninsula?"

Well, then, a parcel of these heroes of the Peninsula went to give the Yankees a "*drubbing*," along their undefended coast; but, at last, encouraged by the successes they had met with in defenceless villages and detached farm-houses; a parcel of these heroes, in an expedition costing a million of money, went out under that very *PAKENHAM* who had received the thanks of the just and wise House of Commons "*for having repelled the attacks of the French on the Peninsula*"; this band of heroes were sent to conquer the State of Louisiana, and particularly to take possession of the city of New Orleans. The history of their disgraceful defeat is recorded in the fifteenth number of the *History of George the Fourth*; but, what I wish to point out to your attention now is, a beautiful representation of that battle, forming one compartment of the frontispiece to the *Life of ANDREW JACKSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*, which I have just published, from a sense of justice to the sons of liberty, as well as from a sense of justice towards you. There you will behold how the heroes of the Peninsula were dealt with by farmers who came, many of them, five hundred miles from their homes, for the purpose of driving you back into the sea, and who, having performed the glorious work, retired back to their farms, no more dreaming about hal'-pay, retired allowance, pension for wounds, pension for widows and children, than they would have dreamed of cutting the purses or cutting the throats of their laborious neighbours.

In that picture you will see these steady-souled farmers, ranged behind a rampart of cotton-bags, laughing at your approach with Congreve-rockets, bomb-shells and cannon-balls; suffering you to come to within seven paces of their parapet, and then mowing you down as the mower fells the grass with his scythe. Here you will see the "*bit of striped bunting*" flying aloft, and you will see the hosts of the Peninsula fleeing like sheep before dogs, leaving the plain

covered with their killed and their wounded. You will see, too, COCHRANE and his fleet in the back ground, making off, and hardly waiting to extend the hand of shelter and of flight to his sister-service of the land-board.

I am asked why I have done this thing, particularly at this time. I answer that I should have published the life of Jackson, at all events, that being necessary to show what is likely to take place with regard to the paper-money in America. His portrait I should have published too; but this picture of the battle of New Orleans; this picture of an event so triumphant over the Peninsula-men and the sister-services united, I should not have published, had I not seen the scaffolding building up round the pillar in "Waterloo-place," and had I not been assured that the image of the hero of the Helder was going to be put up. This picture is an answer to that insolent erection. Some thousands of persons, at any rate, will see this picture; and let every one of them remember, that the picture has been erected by the sticking up of the image of the late Duke of York.

But, "have I no feeling for the honour of my country"? Yes: but not for its di-honour; not for contributing, either by silence or by word, to cause that to be believed of it which is false. Besides, these two sister-services make part of our masters: we are hewers of wood and drawers of water for them. Their everlasting pretensions to their great services, their everlasting assertions that they *saved* us, require to be examined into; did they, then, save us at New Orleans? Did they save us at Chippewaw? Did they save us at Sandusky? Did they save us at Plattsburgh? Did they save us at Fort Erie? Did they save us on the seas, where they got knocked to pieces, smashed, pummelled to morsels? Did they save us on Lake Champlain? Did the hectoring navy save us, when, with five hundred and thirty-four ships, of which seventy-two ships were of the line, and with seventy-five thousand men, they were beaten like stock-fish,

by an American navy of thirty ships and vessels of war, and not one of the line; while, with seventy-five thousand British sailors always afloat in these ships, the Americans had only eight thousand seamen, all put together? Did they save us when the British fleet took from the Americans *seventeen* public ships and vessels of war, with *three hundred and four guns*, and with *two thousand four hundred and fifty-one men*; while the Americans took from the British, *twenty-nine* public ships and vessels of war, with *five hundred and six guns*, and *three thousand seven hundred and twenty-one men*? Was this saving us? Is it for this that the heroes of this service now come and demand of us two millions a year in half-pay and retired allowances and pensions for their wives and children?

Oh! but Trafalgar! "*England expects every man to do his duty!*" What a precious humbug! How many millions have we paid for these words, imputed to the hero of the Bay of Naples; to him who ordered the Admiral CARACCIOLI in spite of a convention, to be swung from the yard-arm, and who stood with a woman of the name of Hamilton, and saw the body afterwards floating about round his ship. "Trafalgar," indeed! And what did it bring? Not consequences such as those of the smashing of the Guerrière and the captures of our fleets on the lakes. A peace! it brought no peace; and, if we look into the accounts of the navy, we shall find that it did not diminish the expenses of the war by one single farthing. Much about the same may be said of the battle of the Nile. These were affairs which were settled beforehand. Lord St. VINCENT got a peerage for a battle of less bloodshed than the battle in the port of Fayal, with two or three English ships of war against a single American privateer. He got his title with far less bloodshed than occurred at the battle of Chippewaw; and with very little more bloodshed, if with so much, as occurred at the battle of Sandusky, while the American Major CROGAN (another of the Irish breed) defeated

General PROCTOR with immense slaughter; killing and wounding not so few as seven hundred men, who had come against him with bombs, rockets, and cannon, he having but one six-pounder and a hundred and sixty young men, like himself, he having just arrived at the age of twenty-one years. Why, sister-services, you never tell us of these things; and if you could go and find Major CROGAN and his hundred and sixty volunteers, you would find not a man of them living upon the public money. In short, your library is full of histories of your own wars. Great heaps of volumes of biography of British officers; great heaps of volumes to record the glories of the army and the navy; but not one single line anywhere to tell us of their exploits in America. You seem to look upon that as a sort of irregular or bastard war; not according to rule; not according to "the honour of an officer and a gentleman." *Devilish hard blows*: fighting in earnest. However, there is one very good thing, belonging to this: never will you fight them again; and yet, the other project of subduing them has failed. Of this project, I will not talk to you: it is one that you do not understand: you understand receiving your half-pay, purchasing stock with it, and becoming our creditors, as well as our stipendiaries: you understand interest of money as well as any men in the whole world; but, the project of this Government for subduing America after you had been beaten, is a matter a little beyond the stretch of your thoughts.

I will conclude with an anecdote, or, rather, a piece of history, very well worthy of the attention of the besotted people of this country, and especially those who choose half-pay officers or other tax-eaters, to represent them in Parliament.

It is a fact, perfectly notorious, that the grand French revolution was an affair of *money*. To be satisfied of this, we have only to look at the proceedings of NECKER, BRIENNE, CALONNE, and the "notables." Every one knows that if the Crown of France could have paid

the interest of its debts, there would have been no revolution. This it could not do, without scourging the people with taxes, which drove them to absolute madness. These debts had not been contracted by LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH, but by his predecessor, whose extravagance and folly, and whose harpies innumerable, actually reduced even himself nearly to want. A very few years before he died, Madame de POMPADOUR, who was his mistress, or one of his mistresses, in writing to the Archbishop of Paris, says, "My lord, our ruin is inevitable: France can no longer be France: all is devoured by these harpies." She then gives an account of the reports made by the intendants of the several princes, all of whom agree that the people never were before in such distress; that the gentlemen are ruined; that the farmers are ruined; that there is a diminution of the produce of the soil; that sterility is come to supply the place of fertility; that no one has any money to pay people for working; that where ten men used to be employed, three men are now employed; that the people are every where emigrating, to avoid actual starvation; yet, at the same time, the farmers are complaining of the low price of the produce of the land. She concludes this famous statement by putting this question to the archbishop: "I pray you, my lord, to tell me whence came these unnatural appearances: a docile people become mutinous; a gentle people become rude; in short, my lord, a good people become bad: it must be our fault, and not theirs?"

The archbishop, in answer to this letter, tells her that it is very true, that the fault is in the Government and not in the people; that if she will but open her eyes, and behold the luxuries of Paris, and recollect how they have gone on increasing, she will cease to be surprised at the miseries of the country: "In fact," says he, "Madame, little does our good master know, that while he is bestowing, right and left, pensions and grants, and exclusive privileges and monopolies; little does he imagine, when he is thus yielding

"to his natural benevolence, that, in every grant, he is making one ungrateful person at the least; perhaps half a dozen idlers; and a great deal worse, five hundred miserable souls, to labour to sustain those idlers. Ah! Madame, que les victoires nous sont chères!—Ah! Madame, how dear victories cost us!"

In another letter, the lady, in remarking upon this sort of paradoxical exclamation of the bishop, relates the monstrous waste of the public treasure given to officers in consequence of victories. "Formerly," says she, "before an officer thought of a pension, he thought of coming with one leg, one arm, one eye, and then modestly to demand for sustenance. Now, they come home from Germany in whole droves, after every thing called a victory, every one of them claiming a pension for having helped to gain the victory."

In another letter and of subsequent date, she tells the archbishop: "This good master of ours has at last opened his eyes; for, a few days ago, after having given pensions to whole rooms full of the hungry vultures, who go to the wars for money and not for fame, he turned round to me, and said, 'you find the archbishop was right: victories will certainly ruin us: I shall rob my people to make masters for them and myself, too, if these victories do not cease!'"

In another letter, she tells the archbishop that news had just arrived of a great defeat of the army; and that the King, when the dispatches were opened by the secretary, exclaimed, "Well, Pompadour, God be praised: we shall have no pensions to give this time; no new robbery to commit upon my poor starving people"; she continues, "le bon homme! il se trompait; car, au bout de cinq jours, il se présentaient quatre cents officiers avec des placets, demandant des pensions pour avoir été présent à la défaite!—Poor man! he deceived himself; for, at the end of five days, there came four hundred officers with memorials, demanding pensions for having been

"present at the defeat!" However, I believe the poor king, on this occasion, had the courage to resist, and she tells us that she verily believes, that these bravos would have been among the first, if they could have done it with safety, to cut his throat.

This is the principle upon which we have been proceeding: it was upon this principle, that a monument was paid for by us, to the memory of Ross, and that a monument was paid for to the memory of PAKENHAM. Victory or defeat, we have to pay: no matter how disgraceful, how injurious, how lastingly mischievous and calamitous the event: we have to pay for it; it is the same in diplomacy: the same in colonial government: the same in every department: good or bad the result, sensible or foolish the proceedings of the actor, we have to pay him in full tale. Not one of the titles, not one of the pensions conferred during the late war upon commanders by land and by sea, ought to have been conferred, with some very few exceptions, and those not applying to the commanders of great force. But can any thing be more monstrous than this column and statue to the Duke of York?

It will be asked, perhaps, why our Ministers, reading regularly in the history of France, the consequence of thus making idlers at the expense of the industrious; why they will persevere, having, as they know they must have, the whole people at their back. Alas! it has always been thus: governments, when once got into this state, have never had the courage to attempt to retrace their steps. Besides, when the tax-eaters become so numerous; when, in a country like this, there are five or six hundred admirals and generals spread all over it; when there are, perhaps, two thousand magistrates, who are half-pay officers at the same time; it requires exertions such as few men are capable of, to undertake a reformation. This was precisely their state in France, in the latter part of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth and beginning of the reign of Louis the Sixteenth: nobody had courage to take the monster by the

throat. At last, after numerous abortive contrivances to find the means of paying the interest of the debt, and to pay these cormorant pensioners, who filled Paris with luxury, while the provinces were perishing, just as our club-houses fill London now, while the people are perishing all over the country; unable to make head against these monstrous excesses, a species of fiscal revolution took place, and the church was the first victim; as, according to appearances, it is likely to be here. One thing after another then dropped in, till every thing was torn up, root and branch.

It is very curious, that, for several years before the end of Buonaparte's reign, the French people, like Louis the Fifteenth, rejoiced at defeat. They found, by experience, that every victory brought a fresh burden upon them, and, what was worse, new loads of insult from the gainers of the victories. The insolence of Buonaparte's officers was quite equal to that of the officers of any other description in the world. They treated the common people as mere scum. Hundred of anecdotes I have heard, similar to the following: When Buonaparte held his camp at St. Omers, a great concourse of people from the town, filling the air with their acclamations, followed and surrounded the carriages of his generals and officers in his train; and I was told by a person who was present on this occasion, that, at one of the stoppages of the cortège, and an officer stepping out of his carriage for a purpose of no great moment to any body but himself, that the admiring multitude renewed and pressed forward to testify their homage, at which the officers, more interrupted than amused, sternly exclaimed, "Paix, sacré canaille!" "Peace, base rabble!" The gentleman, an inhabitant of St Omers, from whom I heard this, at the same time assured me, that, the victories, sending them loads of sick or wounded, insolent in their demeanour towards the people who were compelled to nurse them, were their misfortunes; the greater the victory the greater the misfortune of the oppressed and labo-

rious people; and that they at last received, as glad tidings, the news of defeats in place of victories: with the precise sentiment of consolation and of hope, with which I and my readers, in the month of February, 1815, received the news of that total discomfiture and eternal disgrace of the haughty locusts who were living upon us, and which I have now endeavoured to commemorate in pencil as well as pen.

TITHE PROJECT.

I HAVE only had time to cast my eyes over this scheme, which, however, is pithy in its enunciation; for it says that the collection of tithes in England shall cease and determine; and, it might have added, that the Protestant establishment shall also cease and determine, in a very short time. My Manchester propositions, which were deemed to be evidences of madness in me, will soon be proved to have been moderation in the extreme, and especially with regard to this church. Not a soul seems disposed to make fight for the poor old girl; and, as to the clergy themselves, they appear to calculate that the money will be coming in as long as they shall live, and to care not one straw about what shall take place afterwards. The resolutions passed by the House of Commons amount to just nothing at all: there is no knowing what the measure will be; and there is this comfort belonging to it, that it matters not what the measure is, so that it tends to *a total repeal of the establishment*; a total repeal of all the acts ever made to uphold it; and that it must have that tendency no man can doubt. The following is the debate on this important question.

COMMUTATION OF TITHES (ENGLAND).

LORD ALTHORP rose to bring forward his motion on the subject of tithes. The noble Lord observed, that as he should have to occupy the attention of the House for some time in the expla-

nation of his details, he would not detain them by any prefatory remarks. The question of tithes was certainly one of the greatest importance to all connected with the landed interest, and though there might be much difference of opinion as to the actual right to tithe, he thought there could be none as to this—that the right to tithe did not exist in the landowners of the country. (Hear, hear). He might assume, therefore, without going to abstract rights, that as long as the established church required the aid of tithes, that church had a claim to them prior to all others; but he presumed that whatever opinions might be entertained on the abstract right, there was no one who would maintain that the right belonged to the owners of the soil. The noble Lord here observed that his right hon. Friend (Mr. Secretary Stanley) had just reminded him that he was proceeding in rather an irregular course; for that the proper course would be to move the subject in a committee of the whole House. He had to apologize for his omission in this respect, for which he admitted he could not plead ignorance of the usual forms, but he would state, what was the fact—that he had forgotten it at the moment, owing to the unexpected length to which the previous motion had extended. (Hear, hear). He would now move the order of the day, that the House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the resolutions of which he had given notice.

The order of the day was then read, and the SPEAKER having left the chair, the House went into a committee.

LORD ALTHORP having again apologized for the inadvertence to which he had before alluded, resumed. He had said, that whatever opinions might be held as to the abstract right to tithes, there could, he thought, be no difference as to the question, that they did not belong to the owners of the land. Another position of the truth of which he was satisfied from all the inquiries he had made on the subject was, that in the present state of the country, the revenues of the established church in this

kingdom were not larger than that establishment required. There might be, and no doubt there were, differences of opinion as to the mode in which the revenues of the established church should be applied, but he thought it would be admitted that the amount of those revenues was not greater than the establishment called for. As to the policy of a church establishment, he would not enter into any argument, for he presumed that the great majority of those whom he then addressed concurred with him in thinking that an established church, as connected with the state, ought to exist. He assumed, therefore, that position as one which would be admitted by the majority of the House. He had already said that the landowners had no right to the tithes. They had purchased or inherited their property subject to the payment of tithe, and whether Protestants of the established church, or Dissenters from it, the same rule applied—that they had purchased or inherited the nine-tenths of the property, the remaining tenth belonging to the church. They could not therefore complain of the remaining tenth going to other hands, for they had inherited, or made their purchases subject to that condition. Indeed he believed that even from Dissenters no complaint had been made on the ground of the tenth. In dealing then with this tenth, and in any regulation as to the mode in which it was to be collected, it would be admitted, that if the Legislature took it in its present shape, they were bound to give a fair equivalent to those from whom they took it. He knew it might be said, that if a fair equivalent were given for the tithe, it would be no relief to the occupiers of land. From this opinion he differed, for there was in the mode of collection a source of irritation, which would be got rid of in the plan which he was about to propose. The tithe-payer and the tithe-owner were now frequently brought into unpleasant collision, which might be avoided by a new mode of collection. This would also be a relief to owners and to occupiers of land, for it was well known that the occu-

piers of land, whose capital was expended in the cultivation of the soil, were often losers when the tithe was drawn in kind. An exchange of the present mode of payment would therefore be a relief to those classes. In many cases a composition for tithe had been entered into, but this was not on equal terms between the parties, for if the tithe were drawn in kind, there was a loss to the occupier, and the amount of composition for such tithe was often greater than the occupier ought in justice to be called upon to pay. The plan which he was about to propose would give relief not only to the occupier of the soil, but also to the labourer, by giving to the latter employment, for it was well known that in most instances more labour would be employed on land, if it were not for the certainty that in proportion to the productiveness of that land there would be more tithe to pay. The composition for tithe, then, would be an advantage, not only to the occupiers of land, but also to the labourers, who would thus get increased employment. But when he spoke of composition, he did not mean to say that a full equivalent should be given, that was equal to the present amount of the tithe. He would go upon the scale of what was the customary payment. That he thought would be a fair equivalent, for no one now looked to what was the just legal right, indeed, it was difficult to say what the legal right was. Many circumstances increased or diminished the value of the tithe, such as the distance from a market town, the difference of soil, and the expense of cultivation, so that it was a matter of great difficulty to ascertain what was the value of the legal right. The best way, as he had stated to the House last year, was to take the ordinary value. He must here observe that he still adhered to the principle of the measure which he had brought forward last year; but while he adhered to the general principle, he would admit that some of the details were open to strong objections; for that measure gave an advantage to those who had exacted the full amount of their tithe, in giving

them more than was strictly their due, but it was an injury to those who had been liberal to their clergy. Another objection to the plan of last year was that it fixed a never-varying standard, which was not fair to the owner of the land when the value of the land altered against him. He thought, therefore, that the principle of a corn rent should be abandoned, and he had endeavoured to avoid that principle. The principle which he proposed was, that tithe should bear a fixed proportion to the rent of land, that was, that if the rent rose the tithe should rise, and if the rent fell the tithe should fall in the same proportion. He would take the general value of land. He should also propose that the tithe should be paid by the owner and not by the occupier of land. (Hear, hear). He would add, that in few instances the actual valuation of land would be necessary. The actual rent would in most cases be sufficient. He was aware that some objections would be made to this principle. It was true that rent and tithe did not depend on the same principle, and therefore in some instances the tithe ought not to depend on the rent. There was a distinction to be made between arable and pasture lands. The tithe was higher on the former than on the latter; but he thought there would not be much difficulty in arranging that, for they had a guide in a principle adopted in most enclosure bills, in which, when land was given in lieu of tithes, a larger amount was given for arable, and a smaller for grass land. But there was another distinction which presented a greater difficulty. It was, that where the rent was low, the tithe bore a greater proportion to its amount than where it was high, and the same principle applied to tithe as compared with the expense of cultivation; for where that was great the tithe bore a less proportion to the rent. If therefore they endeavoured to regulate this, they should have the tithe apportioned to the rent, according to the present amount of tithe; and it ought to be to give a larger amount of tithe where the rent was low, and a less where it was

high ; but it would be difficult to make any scale of this kind in an act of Parliament. He was aware it might be said that the effect of the bill apparently would be to give advantage to the proprietors of the poorer soils ; but he trusted that when the whole of the provisions of the bill were in the hands of hon. Members, they would find it not open to an objection of that nature. Before he proceeded further, it would be necessary for him to define what arable land meant, and in what senses he used the words arable and pasture when he sought to establish a distinction between them. (Hear, hear). He would not consider any land arable unless it had been broken up at some time within the preceding five years. It was important that this should be borne in mind, seeing that it was to form one feature of the bill he intended to introduce, to establish between arable and pasture a difference in the rate of payment. It was probably known to many hon. Members then present that he had circulated various inquiries on the subject of tithes, with a view to the present measure ; he was perfectly ready to admit that he had no right whatever to make those inquiries, but he had circulated them, knowing that people generally were very desirous for a commutation of tithes, and they might therefore be not indisposed to furnish the information he desired. That they would furnish such information he fully expected, and in that expectation he had not been disappointed. The answers to the queries supplied him with a great amount of facts, but the intelligence thus received enabled him to ascertain what he could not do, but afforded him little assistance in judging of what he could. The answers did not furnish him with the means of forming any scale for the apportionment of tithe, founded upon the amount of rent actually payable ; one fact, however, those answers placed beyond all question was, that the proportions subsisting between rent and tithes were most various, and that any attempt to apply the same rule to both, could not fail to operate most unequally. The effect of a rule supposed to be ge-

nerally equitable would in some cases amount to nothing less than an increase upon the existing tithes equal perhaps to twenty-five per cent, while in others it would prove a diminution to that extent ; but taking in most, and ascertaining the average proportions in particular districts, the object he had in view would be, he thought, fully accomplished. The course he proposed to adopt was, to fix a different proportion for each of the different counties of England and Wales, and the manner in which that object was sought to be effected he should endeavour to explain as clearly as he could ; but he trusted that the House would extend to him no small share on that occasion of the indulgence which he was in the habit of experiencing at their hands, for the question was one of difficulty and complication, and therefore one which he found it not easy to lay before them as satisfactorily and as plainly as he could have wished. (Hear, hear). It was intended, under the bill which he proposed to introduce, that an actual valuation of tithes should take place in all the parishes in England and Wales, but that separate valuers should be appointed for each county, the object of such valuation being to ascertain the amount of rent and the value of the tithes payable from both arable and pasture, distinguishing the lay impropriations from the tithes payable to ecclesiastical persons. The sums of those various payments were then to be laid before the court of quarter sessions, and by that tribunal the proportion subsisting between the rent and the tithes was to be ascertained, and likewise it would be the duty of the same court of quarter sessions to determine what proportion of the burden should be borne by arable, and what borne by pasture land, so as to preserve the relative pressure upon each in a condition as little altered as possible from its present state, and at the same time to maintain a proportion between rent and tithes as nearly similar as might be to the previously existing proportion between them, the whole being calculated on the average of the country at large, and not confined to the views of particular parishes. He could

not conceal from himself that the whole of the plan might at first view appear exceedingly complex, but he looked forward with perfect confidence to its eventually allowing great facility of operation. The hon. Gentleman opposite, the Member for Essex, when the same subject was under discussion last year, inquired how the tithe of hops was to be regulated? He was prepared so far as the present plan was concerned, to give an answer to that question; and it would be, that hop lands were to be considered (as we understood) in the light of arable lands. Having made that one remark, he should now proceed with the remaining parts of the proposed measure, requesting the House to bear in mind that the intended valuation was not to be considered final; on the contrary, he intended to allow an appeal to a barrister appointed for the purpose of reconsidering any decision which might occasion sufficient dissatisfaction to bring forth an appeal. He had now stated the general principle of his plan of commutation, and he begged to recall to the recollection of the House, that one of the objections of the bill of last year had been obviated by the present plan; for whereas it was alleged against the former measure that while its operation would be to confer an advantage on the harsh and severe collector of tithes, who exacted the uttermost farthing, it would deal unfairly with those whose mode of enforcing their rights was more lenient. Now, with that species of inequality his present measure would entirely do away; for no man would be enabled to derive benefit from the severity of his exactions, inasmuch as the calculations would be made upon whole counties; and thus the enforcement of extreme rights in one quarter would be counter-vailed by the leniency to be found in others, and equal justice dispensed. He was not insensible to the difficulties likely to arise from moduses and customary payments, but he trusted that when the bill came to be examined it would be found that it did not interfere with the present existing rights under moduses. It would not be easy for him

then to explain the manner in which that object was attained, but he was persuaded that the bill would fully accomplish it, and he requested that hon. Members would suspend their judgment on the point until in a printed form it came into their hands; he should, however, make this remark on the subject of moduses—that he thought it would be inexpedient to introduce them into the general calculations for counties, but to let each individual modus stand as a separate case, without diminishing the whole amount for the county; and accordingly the bill so provided. Thus was another of the difficulties of last year removed. The present measure would be likewise relieved from the disadvantages of the fixed annual payment, for that species of payment created a mode of dealing with tithes which he conceived to be most objectionable, for eventually any such fixed annual payment might absorb the whole value of the land, and he believed that the plan which he then had in view was the only measure yet proposed which could be considered as guarding effectually against the total absorption of the value of the land by the introduction of a scale which should always maintain between the rent and the tithe a certain unvarying proportion. He felt that the plan he was then laying before the House was still liable to the objection, that it did not purify the tithe system from its tendency to check the investment of capital in the improvement of land; but though he did not directly declare that if these were to remain stationary, while land went on indefinitely improving, yet in effect he hoped to be able to obviate every thing material that might be found in the very plausible objection to which he was then alluding. If he did not in so many words declare that the further employment of capital was to be tithe-free, he at least afforded every motive and facility for preventing its injurious operation upon the investment of capital, by giving to tithe-payers an easy and equitable mode of redemption. He would give to the owner of the land, whether he paid his tithe to the clergy or to the lay impro-

priator, the right of redeeming such at a certain number of years' purchase. (Hear, hear). He proposed that the payment for that redemption should be twenty-five years' purchase, a rate which he thought would be considered fair, as the owner of the land would thereby gain 4 per cent. for the money he advanced, besides securing to himself the full prospective advantage of any amount of capital which he might think proper to invest in the improvement of his property. The sums which might so be paid under that plan of redemption on account of clerical tithes would clearly be clerical property, and might of course, without the least objection, be placed at the disposal of a clerical commission; he should therefore propose that in every diocese, the bishop, with such other commissioners as he might nominate, should receive the amount paid for the redemption of tithes, and invest the same in land or other securities for the future advantage of the incumbents of those livings whence they were derived. In order further to facilitate redemptions, he proposed that when the payers of tithes did not find it convenient to discharge the whole sum at once, they might be at liberty to render it an encumbrance on their properties in the nature of a mortgage, but without giving the mortgagee the power of foreclosure—that it should be in effect a mortgage, bearing interest at the rate of four per cent., but redeemable at the option of the borrower. He did not deny that there might be some difficulty as respected the redemption of lay impropriations, but he did not despair of getting over even that; at all events, this plan might be adopted, and he intended to propose it—namely, that in such cases the payer of the tithe should lodge his redemption money in the Court of Exchequer, to be drawn thence by the person who should prove himself entitled thereto. Doubtless that plan involved some legal expenses, but he did not see how otherwise difficulties of that nature could be obviated. (Hear, hear). He begged to assure the House that he felt very sensibly the patience and indulgence with which they

had listened to him, for he feared that he had but very imperfectly laid before them the feature of his plan. He was aware that there must be considerable complication and difficulty in ascertaining the value of the tithes, but that once done, he felt assured that there would be nothing to interfere with the simple and effective working of the measure. He requested it to be remembered that the principle of causing tithe to bear a certain proportion to rent was not new; it had been acted upon in Scotland, and there it had been adopted upon a principle far less advantageous to the landowner than that which he had to propose. It was well known that the great feudal proprietors had there possessed themselves of the greater part of the tithes of the lay impropriators, to whom one-fifth of the rent was payable. These tithes were allowed to be redeemed at the rate of ninety years' purchase, subject, however, to a right on the part of the clergy of receiving the whole amount of theirs. It might perhaps be said that the plan he had now propounded would not effect much change; to that he begged to reply, that he should feel much disappointed if the effect of it were not to cause a very extensive redemption of tithes: and should that anticipation be realized, as he had no doubt it would, then should he be enabled to contrast the altered condition of that description of property with its present state, and refer to the change as one well deserving to be called important and advantageous. (Hear). He should move a resolution to the effect—first, that it was the opinion of the committee that it would be expedient that tithes should be commuted for a payment bearing a certain proportion to the rents; and secondly, that the payers of such tithes should be at liberty to redeem them at the rate of twenty-five years' purchase. The House would observe, that however anxiously he might desire to relieve the class of religionists called Quakers from the burden of paying that against which they felt conscientious scruples, yet he had not been able to accomplish it in the present measure. He should have been glad to have re-

moved the difficulty, but he could not see how he could have avoided making the payment compulsory, and the redemption voluntary. The House would also observe that he had done nothing with respect to glebe lands. It might be, he thought, highly desirable to give ecclesiastical persons the power of leasing equitably for a longer period than their incumbency; but he thought it could not with convenience be introduced into a measure such as that, however properly it might be made part of another bill. After again dwelling upon the imperfect manner in which he had laid his views before the House, he concluded by moving, *That it was expedient that the payment of tithes in kind should cease and determine, and that in the several parishes throughout England and Wales there should be substituted in lieu thereof, a payment to the parties who might be entitled to such tithe, such payment bearing a fixed proportion to the annual value of all land whence tithe might be payable, that value to be ascertained throughout the several counties at large, striking an average on the parishes in each county; also that all owners of property liable to tithes be at liberty to redeem the same at the rate of twenty-five years' purchase.*

Mr. A. BARING inquired if the income of the clergy were to be subject to poor-rates.

Lord ALTHORP replied that the rent was a payment minus the poor-rates, and that inasmuch as the commuted payment for tithe would be calculated on the rent, it would be obviously unjust to reduce it still further by a rate to the poor, for that would be making the clergy pay the rate twice over.

Mr. A. BARING resumed.—He was glad to find the noble Lord abandoning the measure of last session, and then bringing one forward altogether new, in laying which before the House it was certainly no matter of surprise that he should have experienced considerable difficulty, and that he should not have succeeded in making the details of his plan quite clear, for unquestionably the subject was one full of embarrassment and complexity; it was therefore that he himself wished to postpone for the present entering into any discussion of the merits of the bill until he should have had full and fair opportunity of giving to its provisions deliberate consideration, and he therefore hoped that any attempt to improve the existing system would not be viewed with too nice or critical an eye. There was one observation of the noble Lord in which he fully con-

curred, namely, that the church did not actually possess more property than was necessary for the decent maintenance of a national faith. Whatever difference of opinion there might exist as to the distribution of the property of the church, or the continuance of ecclesiastical sinecures, one thing at least was certain—that if there should be any surplus, the landlords could have no claim to that whatever. The surplus, if any, did not in the smallest degree affect the settlement of the tithe question. Adhering to the course he had prescribed to himself of not then entering into the discussion of the question generally, he should content himself with assenting to the present resolutions *pro forma*, with the understanding that his doing so did by no means pledge him to an unqualified support of the bill to be founded on them, upon which he of course could not then pronounce any opinion. He regretted that it had been brought forward at such a period as that it could not reach the other branch of the legislature, in which the clergy were more particularly represented, until a late period of the session.

Mr. GREENE was sorry that he should find himself called upon to affirm resolutions such as were then in the hands of the chairman, but he, like the last speaker, hoped that he should not be excluded from opposing the bill by acquiescing for the present in the resolutions. He wished to know from the noble Lord opposite what he intended to do with rectorial tithes in lay hands—did he propose to put rectorial and vicarial tithes upon the same footing?

Lord ALTHORP said that he did not mean to propose any distinction between lay and clerical property in tithes, neither should he consider any hon. Member pledged to support the bill by agreeing to the resolutions. For the more minute details of the measure he begged to refer hon. Members to the bill itself when it should reach them.

Mr. HARVEY thought that an excellent principle had been most unnecessarily complicated in the proposed measure of the noble Lord. By attending to the various communications he received, he had involved himself in difficulties which might have been very easily avoided. If the noble Lord had only set about the measure in his own straightforward business-like way, he would have presented something to the House infinitely more satisfactory and simple. Any auctioneer could tell them the value of any given quantity of tithe, and the rate at which it ought to be redeemed. He feared the measure would be shipwrecked by its own honesty! The landlord would gain very little by it, for twenty-five years' purchase would be redeeming at a very dear rate, and in fact no interest would be much the better for it, and the country generally would be disappointed at finding there was nothing to be done with the surplus. It had been asserted that the property of the established church was not too much for its occasions; that was a matter of opinion; it might be turned into a

matter of fact, for there was at the present moment a commission in existence, with full powers to obtain the information requisite for that purpose. They had issued lists of most searching and effective queries from sixteen to twenty-five in number, and if these were taken advantage of to the extent which they might be, that which was at present a matter of speculation might be rendered matter of fact. The noble Lord was already in possession of a mass of information which might negative the opinion that the property of the established church was only sufficient for its maintenance. Why shut out from the present measure any consideration of the question how far the possible surplus of church property might be rendered available to public purposes?

Sir R. PEEL said that he could not understand what power the noble Lord had to release him (Sir R. Peel) from the obligation which he thought he should incur if he assented to the resolution which had just been proposed. He had only two courses open to him—either to affirm the resolution or vote against it. If he affirmed the resolution, he should consider himself as much bound by it as by any other resolution to which he might give his assent (hear, hear), and by affirming it he expressed his approbation of the several principles contained in it—namely, that a commutation of tithes ought to take place, calculated according to the proportionate value which rent and tithe bore to each other, and also that the redemption of tithe should be permitted at twenty-five years' purchase. If this resolution was not intended to bind the House, why insert it in any details at all? He begged leave to move, as an amendment, that in lieu of the noble Lord's proposition, a simple resolution be passed declaring it expedient that leave be given to bring in a bill for the purpose of effecting a commutation of tithes in England and Wales. To such a general resolution as that he was ready to give his assent. (Hear, hear). Besides the objections he had just stated, the noble Lord's motion was so vague that it effected nothing. The noble Lord proposed that the proportionate value of tithe to land should be ascertained in the different counties of England and Wales; and he carried this principle still further, for he made each county a distinct territory within itself with respect to tithes; and having ascertained the proportionate value of tithe to rent on an average in each county, he intended that that average should be applied to every parish and to every estate within the county. Yet this principle which the noble Lord was desirous of establishing, was in no way affirmed by the resolution before the committee. (Hear, hear). Why, then, enter into details at all in the resolution unless it was meant to be contended that resolutions passed by the House of Commons were mere waste paper? (Hear, hear). The noble Lord had, after six months' consideration, abandoned the bill introduced last

session for the purpose of facilitating the commutation of tithes. What right, then, had the noble Lord to call upon him (Sir R. Peel) to assent, on the instant, to the principles contained in the resolution, if that resolution was intended to be of any force? (Hear, hear). There were several points which required much consideration and explanation. What connexion, he should like to know, was there between the payment of tithes and the territorial division of the kingdom into counties? (Hear, hear). Let the House consider what the consequences of this arrangement must be. He would venture to say, that the practice with respect to the payment of the tithes would be found to be different in different counties, and in different parishes of the same county. In some the proportion which the tithe bore to the rent was very much larger than in others. For instance, the proportion which the tithe bore to the value of land was considerably higher in Devonshire and Kent than in some other counties; yet the effect of the noble Lord's bill would be to fix in those counties the proportion for ever. (Hear, hear). The noble Lord had alluded slightly to the case of moduses, and he (Sir R. Peel) could easily understand that it might be possible to make a satisfactory arrangement with respect to them; but the noble Lord seemed to have overlooked the distinction between great tithes and small tithes. Did the noble Lord mean that land subject to small tithes within a county, should hereafter pay a contribution on the average of the land subject to great tithes? (Hear, hear). He should also like to know how the noble Lord proposed to act with respect to the case where the title to tithes was contested. Supposing the question should arise whether milk was subject to tithes, in what way was the dispute to be settled? The noble Lord said, that under the proposed plan the clergy were not to be liable to the payment of poor-rates; and, as the money paid for the redemption of tithes might be employed in the purchase of land, he (Sir R. Peel) concluded that, on the same principle, the land so purchased would be exempted from the poor-rates. In this case, it would be clearly the interest of the clergy to buy land subject to the heaviest poor-rates. (Hear). Under these circumstances, he thought that much objection might be felt to giving to the church the possession of land at present subject to the poor-rates, but from which it would be exempted from being transferred to the church. (Hear, hear). These were points which every man had a right to have cleared up to his satisfaction, before he was called on to affirm the principles contained in the resolution before the committee. He agreed with his hon. Friend (the Member for Essex), that it did not become the House to be too critical with regard to the plan submitted to its consideration, or to reject it because it was complicated; but he thought he was entitled to ask for a short interval of time to consider the nature of the resolution, before he was required

to vote on it. He wished most heartily that the proposed measure might be received with satisfaction out of doors; but the House was bound to consider whether the new arrangement might not be productive of new mischiefs. He was an advocate for the settlement of this question by the means of voluntary commutations, for he knew their value well (hear, hear); and if once there should be established within each county an ecclesiastical corporation, having a bishop at its head, for the purpose of receiving money as an equivalent for tithes, he believed that the means would then exist of giving great facilities for the voluntary commutation of tithe. This arrangement would, in his opinion, be perfect, if it also embraced the principle of redemption of tithe. (Hear, hear). If arbitrators in whom the country could confide were appointed to deal, not with whole counties, but with individual parishes—if one of the bishops and some of the other ecclesiastical authorities were nominated to watch over the interests of the church, while the incumbent and the tithe-payer were present to take care of their interests, and if parties were assured that they would not be subjected to the vexations and expense of litigation, he did believe that such an arrangement would be found greatly to facilitate amicable arrangements both for the commutation and redemption of tithes. (Hear, hear). He did not wish to say one word to prejudice the noble Lord's proposition, but he conceived he was entitled to ask that he should not be called on to incur the obligation which would be imposed on him by assenting to the resolution before the committee.

LORD ALTHORP admitted that the resolution he had proposed was extremely vague, and said that, had not the forms of the House prevented him from introducing the bill except by such means, he should not have troubled the committee by submitting any resolution whatever to its consideration. However, he thought he recollected having often heard the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) state, when sitting on the ministerial side of the House, that no Member, by assenting to a resolution proposed merely as a preliminary to the introduction of a bill, was thereby pledged to support the provisions of the measure. The noble Lord then proceeded to reply to some of the points noticed by Sir R. Peel, but his observations were so imperfectly heard in the gallery, that we cannot vouch for the correctness of our report. We understood his Lordship to state, with reference to small tithes, that the same rule would apply as was proposed to be applied to moduses, and that a deduction would be allowed in respect of them. We also understood the noble Lord to say, that all cases of litigated tithes would be readily adjudicated on; and that in the event of the redemption money being employed in the purchase of land, that land would be subject to the poor rates. In submitting the present resolution to the committee, his only object was to obtain

the power of introducing a bill, but as the right hon. Gentleman had objected to it as not being sufficiently general, he had no objection to amend it. He would therefore propose it in an altered state, as follows:—*"That it is expedient to effect the commutation of tithes, and to abolish the payment of tithes in kind, throughout England and Wales, and in lieu thereof to substitute another payment to be made to the parties entitled to tithes: and that the power of redemption should be granted to the payers of tithes at a certain number of years purchase."*

SIR R. INGLIS preferred the amended resolution to the resolution as it stood originally, which he considered very objectionable.

MR. HUME objected to the noble Lord's plan, which could not be at all compared with the system adopted in Scotland, for by that system one invariable and fixed rate was established. He thought that the machinery required to work the plan would be very complicated, and recommended the noble Lord to follow the mode of ascertaining the value of land, practised in Belgium and in France, where every separate field was surveyed, and its value recorded in the *Cadaastre*. The noble Lord had said that he believed no one in that House would assert that the clergy received too much money. Now he begged to inform the noble Lord that there were some individuals in that House who thought that the clergy were too well paid. He was of opinion that the amendment suggested by the right hon. Member for Tamworth was preferable to the noble Lord's resolution, upon which it was impossible for the House to pronounce any opinion until the information collected by the ecclesiastical commission, and by the noble Lord himself, was laid before it. He believed that making the amount of tithe vary with the value of land would operate as a bar to all improvement.

LORD ALTHORP said, that if any gentleman chose by the application of capital to land to increase its value, he had the option of redeeming the tithes at the rate paid theretofore by him. His plan would not therefore interfere in the slightest degree with the application of capital to land.

MR. HUME said that he was intrusted with a petition from the market-gardeners of London, praying for the commutation of tithes, and complaining that the tithes were raised in proportion to the amount of labour and money expended on their property.

MR. ESTCOURT observed that the noble Lord had not stated whether a simple resolution, such as had been suggested by the right hon. Member for Tamworth, pledging the House to no principles, and only declaring the expediency of introducing the bill, would not be, according to the forms of the House, sufficient for his purpose. He trusted the noble Lord would introduce a clause into his measure allowing a certain time for effecting voluntary commutations. He agreed with the right hon. Member for Tamworth in think-

ing that this was the most desirable course that could be pursued.

Lord ALTHORP said that he had last session contemplated the effecting of commutations of voluntary arrangements, but he was subsequently convinced, by the information he had received, that no measure for that purpose would be complete unless it was compulsory. He therefore abandoned the plan of voluntary commutations. He believed that voluntary commutations had been effected to a certain extent, but they had not removed, and never would remove, the grievances complained of.

Sir R. PEEL. Why not?

Lord ALTHORP. Because the grievances complained of arise out of disputes between the tithe-receiver and tithe-payer as to the proper amount of the tithe, and it would be impossible to induce those parties to come to any amicable arrangement. The case of the market-gardeners instanced by the hon. Member for Middlesex had nothing to do with the question, for they as tenants, would be obliged to pay an increased rent for the capital laid out on the land, whether it was subject to tithes or not. (Hear, hear).

Sir R. PEEL said he was ready to believe that if it was left to the parties themselves, to bear all the expenses of effecting voluntary commutations, very little would be made in that way. But he thought that the public ought to pay something for this purpose, and he had no doubt that if a little of the public money were so expended, and commissioners of high character appointed, whose duty it would be to endeavour to make amicable arrangements between the tithe payer and the tithe receiver, with a view to the ultimate redemption of the tithes, very considerable progress would be made in voluntary commutations. (Hear, hear). He did not require that the commutation should be voluntary on the part of every individual, for supposing that within any district a certain number of individuals, respectable in point of property and numbers, agreed to a commutation, he would make their resolution binding on the remainder; and if within a period of two years no voluntary commutation should be effected, then let the Government try the compulsory plan. He trusted that the noble Lord, if he found the difficulties in the way of his passing the proposed measure this session too great to be overcome, would not allow another session to pass without trying the principle of a voluntary commutation of tithes, which he (Sir R. Peel) was convinced might be carried into effect to a very great extent by the active interference of the Government. (Hear, hear).

Dr. LUSHINGTON participated in the regret expressed by the hon. Members for Essex and Middlesex that no information on the question under consideration was yet in the possession of the House; and being one of the commissioners appointed to inquire on this subject, he was induced to rise for the purpose of stating the extent of information collected. He believed he was correct in saying that all

the returns from the bishops, the deans, prebendaries, and canons, had been received. A considerable period had elapsed since the reception of all the returns which the commissioners had any chance of obtaining from the general body of the clergy; for it did so happen, unfortunately, that there were a few clergymen to be found determined not to communicate any information in answer to the inquiries of the commissioners. Still, though the last-mentioned returns displayed an earnest desire on the part of those from whom they came to give every possible information, in a very great number of instances the import of the questions had been mistaken, so that it was utterly impossible to collect from the answers what was the exact amount of the revenues to the different clergymen. Under these circumstances, it had been found necessary to return the answers for the purpose of being corrected, after which they would be subjected to the revision of the bishops, and he had no doubt that in a short time these returns would be laid on the table of the House. The returns from the commissioners had been delayed, in consequence of its having been thought necessary to make out a digested table, to enable the Members of that House to see, in one view, the whole amount of the property of the church. When this return was printed, it would be seen that the church property did not exceed such an amount as was indispensably required to maintain the established clergy in comfort and decency. If the bishops were exterminated, deans and chapters put an end to, and the revenues equalized, the amount received by each individual parochial clergyman would not be more than a just reward for his labours. (Hear, hear). With respect to the question under discussion, he could not help congratulating the House on the universal feeling which now prevailed as to the propriety, or rather the necessity, of the commutation of tithes; for he recollected that two years ago it was scarcely possible to find in that House so many as thirty or forty supporters of even the most just and equitable scheme of commutation. He was satisfied there would be extreme difficulty in concocting a measure which in its results would operate equally on all concerned; and if they proceeded on the basis of an actual valuation, they must be prepared to encounter an amount of expense which would excite no inconsiderable degree of alarm. Let any one make out an estimate of the amount of tithes in each parish throughout England and Wales, and the sum total would present a consideration of no mean importance in the settlement of such a question as the present. He agreed in many of the observations which had been made by the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel), and he hoped above all things that some machinery might be invented by which a fair, amicable commutation might be effected (hear, hear), although it was equally clear that a compulsory measure was indispensably necessary. Every one must feel that if they

could effect the permanent composition of tithes with the consent of the incumbent, the general agreement of the parishioners, and the approbation of the bishops, an object would be attained next in importance to the commutation of tithe itself. He hoped his noble Friend would provide by his bill facilities for effecting this most desirable end. Many difficulties might be suggested arising from the distinction between great and small rectorial and vicarial tithes, but it would be premature at present to discuss them: contrasted with the great general advantage of the whole measure, they were comparatively insignificant, and with proper care and skilful management they might be satisfactorily obviated.

Mr. PARROTT objected to that part of the noble Lord's proposition by which the tithe-owner was to be exempted from the payment of rates and taxes; but the plan as a whole, so far as he understood it, had his cordial approbation. It would introduce very great improvements, and his Majesty's Government was entitled to the thanks of the House and of the country for the manner in which they had met the difficulties of so perplexing a subject. The plan suggested by the noble Lord would, in his opinion, be infinitely better than that of the hon. Member for Middlesex; some reduction, however, he thought ought to be made on account of the expenses of collection, which in the case of small tithes, amounted in the least to fifty per cent., and of great tithes, twenty-five per cent.

Colonel WOOD doubted exceedingly whether the question could ever be satisfactorily adjusted without a parochial valuation. The noble Lord was perhaps not aware that upwards of 2,300, about one-sixth of the total amount of parishes, had already commuted under different enclosure acts upon parochial valuations; and if the same course were not adopted with respect to the remaining parishes, the principal source of evil would remain—the small tithes, which brought the clergy mainly into angry collision with the parishioners, would never be satisfactorily met by a county valuation. He could not agree with an observation which had been made, that in the present question the landlords of England had no interest. He thought they were deeply interested in it, and would thank Government for the general nature and provisions of their plan. He expected a great deal from voluntary commutation, and he hoped considerable progress would speedily be made in that respect.

Mr. BLAIRE approved of the measure most cordially. He hoped it would comprehend some provision by which the tithe matters now in dispute might be satisfactorily adjusted. In that case a very great deal of mischief and an expensive proceeding would be effectually avoided.

Mr. FRYER considered the present discussion altogether uncalled for and unnecessary. They must all acquiesce in the general arrangement. (Hear). With respect to volun-

tary commutation, there could be no possible doubt, if Government would give power to the rectors of parishes under proper guarantees to commute the tithes, that desirable object would before long be completely effected. The clergy throughout the kingdom received a great deal less than they were entitled to. The petition from the county of Stafford proved that the clergy were not grasping selfish men; they were honourable men, (hear), and Radical as he was he would always support them and the Church of England. (Hear and a laugh). The lay impropiators were the selfish men, who objected to all commutation, and who were anxious to exact more than 'the pound of flesh.' (Laughter). The doctrine of the noble Lord was sound and good: he would never have the clergy go to distraint the tenant; let him go to the landlord: he should bring the tithe to the church door free at once. (Laughter). He thought the committee should immediately agree to the resolution.

Sir E. KNATCHBULL expressed his general approbation of the measure. He did not object to that part of it which respected hop lands; but there was another point on which he felt some anxiety, as it was connected in some degree with his county, he meant the tithe on wool, and the plan of the noble Lord made no provision for it.

Lord ALTHORP's reply was quite inaudible in the gallery.

Mr. FINCH maintained that commutation should in all cases be voluntary on the part of the landlord, and wherever it did take place he hoped it would be on the most equitable principles with respect to the church. The present system was compulsory on all parties. Nothing but voluntary commutation would give satisfaction; and he was quite sure before three weeks passed there would be a general outcry against this measure.

Sir F. FREEMANTLE was of opinion that the circumstances of every parish in each county were perfectly distinct, and to render commutation at all satisfactory it would be necessary that the situation of each parish should be considered, and an arrangement made for it separately. They all understood what great tithes generally meant, but there were parishes in which practically they meant very different things. With respect to a voluntary arrangement, he thought it would be very desirable; but if it was to be followed up by a compulsory measure, it would never succeed. He particularly objected to that part of the plan which threw the onus of the whole arrangement on the magistrates assembled at quarter sessions. It was calculated, in his opinion, to throw odium upon them. He also thought it would be very desirable that new arrangements should be made from time to time, in order that it might be regulated in some degree according as rents had risen or fallen.

Lord ALTHORP said the magistrates at quarter sessions would, according to the arrangement, have the merely ministerial duty

to perform of preparing returns, exhibiting the general proportions which tithe bore to the rent of land. It could not possibly entail upon them the slightest degree of odium. As to the other part of the hon. Baronet's objection, he (Lord Althorp) intended that when the tithe rate of the county was once established, it should never be altered; or if the value of any particular portion of land materially altered, and its rent was not considered a fair valuation, the tithe receiver might demand a new valuation, but entirely at his own expense.

Sir R. PEEL asked, if land, in consequence of its vicinity for instance to a rail-road, or from some other fortunate circumstance, very much accidentally increased in value, from being worth perhaps 50s. an acre to 50l., whether the tithe would be increased in proportion?

Lord ALTHORP was understood to say, in that case the owner of the land would have the same privilege the tithe receiver had of the other. There might be a new valuation.

Sir H. WILLOUGHBY protested against there being any supposed necessary connexion between tithe and rent. In every county in England there was much land which did no more than pay cultivation, and therefore he doubted extremely the policy of making rent the basis of tithe commutation. The hon. Baronet defended the lay improPRIATORS from the attack which had been made upon them by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Fryer). They had gone into market and given a fair price for the subject, considering it a legitimate species of investment. He believed it would be altogether impossible satisfactorily to settle the question upon the average to be established by the noble Lord. It could never be fairly or equally applied to a county.

Mr. ROBERTSON cordially approved of the measure. It would afford every facility that could be suggested to a fair commutation. It also embraced within its scope every possible mode of commutation. It proposed to commute the tithe first of all into an annual sum proportioned to the rent or its ascertained value, either between the parties themselves or by Government, if they could not agree; and if the landholder chose, he might either redeem the tithe or the annual sum into which it was converted. There was necessarily some complication in the statement of the noble Lord, but when the measure was fully canvassed and understood, he had no doubt it would meet the sanction of the House and the general approbation of the country.

Mr. F. LEWIS objected to the plan of establishing a county average. Its effects would not be in any way to relieve the cultivator of poor lands, by throwing a heavier burden on the richer cultivator; the operation of it would in point of fact be precisely the reverse. He had long anxiously wished to see this attempt made, and he hoped that the noble Lord would meet with success in making it. If the noble Lord would adopt a general system which

would hang over us as a compulsory ultimatum, if under the threat of that compulsion we could be induced to agree voluntarily to a composition (a laugh), he had no doubt that great good would be accomplished.

Lord EASTNOR was convinced that the laying a specific sum, as, for instance, 10s. on every acre for tithe, would not as a general plan give satisfaction. A specific sum added in this way to the rent could never give satisfaction.

Lord ALTHORP made a reply to this observation, which was utterly inaudible in the gallery.

Mr. JERVIS observed that the tithe on wages, on eggs, on pigs, &c., pressed very heavily on the poor; and yet to this description of tithe the noble Lord's plan made no reference. (Hear, hear). This was not as it ought to be. (Hear). He also objected to the mode of ascertaining the average. A parish, nay, even a field, might be in more than one county, and in that case, owing to the parish or the field being so situated, the landowner might have to pay a different amount of tithe for land which was liable to the same burdens. The variation in the amount of tithe checked improvement in agriculture by preventing the investment of capital. Still, notwithstanding these objections of detail, he was inclined to give his cordial assent to this measure.

Mr. AGLIONBY hoped that the noble Lord would alter that provision of his measure which vested in land the money that was paid to the ecclesiastical commissioners. It would not to do vest land in perpetuity in the church, for the clergy had only a life interest in the land, and therefore it was not to be expected that they would lay out money on the chance of surviving for one and twenty years.

Sir J. FREMANTLE said that he was himself favourable to the object which the noble Lord had in view. He therefore wished to know whether there would be any provision in the noble Lord's bill, enabling those who wished to purchase their tithe by laying down a certain sum of money, as was now done in case of the land-tax. It would be an object with individuals so to do, for they would by such a provision get a clear 6 per cent. for their money. If this were a desirable proposition, he had no doubt but that means might be devised to carry it into effect.

After a few words from Mr. Curteis, the resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

In reply to a question from Mr. A. Baring,

Lord ALTHORP said, that he could not promise to bring in his bill to-morrow night, but he thought that he might promise to bring it in on the night afterwards.

CITIZEN-KING.

IN less than six days after this fellow was placed upon the throne of France, by the intrigues of Lafitte, Lafayette,

and a set of others who ought to have been hanged up by dozens, I said that he had been placed there to keep the "nest warm" for the old slinking Bourbons, and to uphold the infamous funding system of France. And I told the French people then, that the Bourse was a thousand times more tyrannical than the Bourbons; and that, if they continued to pay the interest of their debt in full, they would be, and they deserved to be, slaves more degraded than their forefathers ever had been.

We immediately saw, at the head of the national-guard, the scoundrel-bankers and money-dealers: two or three of Rothschild's clerks were captains or lieutenants of the national-guard; PERIER the banker was a colonel, and that wretched old hypocrite, LAFAYETTE, who has sold his American lands, and turned them into what the villains call "stock"; this supreme hypocrite, who has since saved the lives of the traitors Polignac and Peyronnet; this prime old hypocrite, being appointed commander of the national-guard, chose a stock-broker for his adjutant-general. In short, from the commencement of this last revolution to the present time, the grand object of that stock-jobbing Government has been, to arm those who live upon the taxes, for the purpose of compelling the working-people to live upon potatoes or garbage, worse than the food of dogs. This has been the ruling principle of this infernal Government. To hire endless battalions of fat soldiers, riding upon fat horses, to kill the people, who work and produce every thing, unless they will work sixteen hours a day, and live upon diet worse than that of dogs or ferrets. In pursuance of this scheme, the manufacturers of Lyons, of Rouen, and of other places, and the working-people in general, have been brought down to even a harder fare than the weavers of Oldham and Manchester and Blackburn. In order to save themselves from a horrible and cruel life like this, the working-people have formed themselves into *trades' unions* or *municipalists*. The scoundrel-masters, who cannot profit so much, if the men have

the means of living like men; these infamous scoundrels, profiting largely from the oppression of their men, all belong to the national-guard; that is to say, they carry arms, and the Government furnishes them with powder and ball and sabres, to shoot or to chop down the working-people, unless they will be content to live like dogs. Alarmed at the progress of the trades' unions, those of Lyons not being a match for the men themselves, called upon their citizen-king for protection. He sent them horse, foot, and artillery; and thus, sending to destroy them, the very wretches he had compelled them to pay, under pretence of their being defenders of their country. Every bullet that these base, mercenary villains sent into the bodies of the weavers at Lyons, *those poor weavers had already been taxed to pay for.*

Talk of glory, indeed! Here is a set of hired villains who have agreed to shoot at their fathers and mothers and brethren, in order to compel them to pay taxes. These mercenary villains, these lazy and blood-sucking villains, who hire themselves for the express purpose of killing their parents, friends, and neighbours, in order to compel them to surrender one half of their earnings in taxes, for the sake of getting about a farthing in the pound out of those taxes, in order to enable them to live in laziness, and to cram their maws with the best of the food of the country.

"Gallant army," indeed! Despicable wretches! Monsters in human shape! Go and butcher their poor unarmed neighbours, because they are endeavouring to prevent gangs of pensioners and swarms of bloody Jews from making them work, while they are three-fourths starved. "Of all the aristocracies," says the report made to the Assembly of New York, "an aristocracy of money is the most damnable"; it is this monster that the French working-people are now endeavouring to overcome; and, although they may be beaten at first, they will not be beaten at last; they may find it difficult to make a good government out of such

villanous materials; but, at any rate, I trust that they will be resolved to have another war, another revolution, another set of rulers; nay, to have anarchy and confusion itself perpetual, rather than submit to be fed like dogs, while earning the money to enable the tax-eaters to live in luxury.

The French are a people easily deceived. But, who would not have been deceived by old Lafayette, who was one of the deep contrivers of this presentsystem of government. Far better for Lyons to perish, and all the people in it, than that all those who do the work should be fed like dogs. With regard to the murdering myrmidons called "the army," no matter when or how or where, so that they be killed. In a case like that of Lyons, every thing used against them is laudable. They are there for the sole purpose of killing the working-people, or of imposing starvation upon them. The assemblies at Paris seem not to know very well what to be at. They talk big, but that is all: they are worthy of their citizen-king, and he is worthy of them.

Was it ever heard of before in the world, that a man is a criminal because he asks what he deems a proper price for his labour? Such a thing was never before heard of, and yet this is all that the working-people of Lyons have been guilty of; and for this they are to be shot or hacked to pieces like dogs. Far better for a hundred thousand such men to throw up, to do no work at all, to prowl about, and get food and raiment where they can. Ah! but they conspire! They enrol themselves as "mutualists"; they will not work at all, unless they have a greater share of food for their work. Well, and what then? being able to do nothing singly, they must act in unison, or they must lie down and die: acting in unison disconcerts their infernal national-guard, who get rich upon their labour; and they, with the mercenary myrmidons, who are kept in constant pay, join together and hack them to pieces.

This is the true view of the matter, To talk of factions; to talk of republicans, to talk of the disaffected, is all

base hypocrisy: the object of the Government is, first to make the people pay to raise bands of mercenary ruffians, and then to make these mercenary ruffians kill the people, unless they will be content to live like dogs. Perhaps there will be a great deal of slaughter, before this affair is over; but, Louis-Philippe will be a little cunninger than Bourbons in general have been, if he himself ride out this storm. Let the reader observe this: the innumerable swarms of pensioners in France, and the still more numerous swarms of fundholders (amongst whom the citizen-king is the greatest) *cannot be paid unless the working millions can be made to live upon herbage, or upon garbage, or upon the accursed potatoes!* If the working millions get their *due share*, these swarms of villains *cannot be paid*. Louis-Philippe and his family expend upon themselves, every year, as much as would probably maintain *half a million of families of working-people!* This is the simple ground of the quarrel, and, let no man persuade my readers, *that politics, or schemes of Government, have any thing at all to do with the matter.* I beg them to keep this clear view of the case constantly in their minds, and I trust, that every man of them will join me in praying for the success of the working-people, and for the total distress of their working enemies.

SEVERAL gentlemen having submitted papers to me, and having, otherwise, very legitimate demands upon my personal attention in London, it is right that I inform them, that my ailment sticks to me most firmly, and that I should deem it even dangerous to return to that busy scene at present. I hope that I may be able to return in a fortnight: at present I am not able, and I am sure that this will be much greater cause of regret to the parties I allude to, regret on my account, than of chagrin or disappointment on their own. This is about the third time that I have had thus to apologize, in the course of a very long life; and the pain that I feel at

being thus tied by the leg, is beyond any thing that I can easily express, especially at a moment like the present.

TRADES' UNIONS

AND

THE DORSETSHIRE LABOURERS.

BELOW I insert a report of the speeches made on the presenting of petitions in favour of the six labourers who were sentenced by WILLIAMS to transportation. This affair cannot end here. I have petitions to present to the House on the subject, signed altogether by more than ten thousand persons. Indeed the whole kingdom has been roused from one end to the other by this uncalled-for severity. With respect to the proceedings at OLDHAM I must defer making any remarks until we have further particulars.

House of Commons, 16. April.

THE DORCHESTER UNIONISTS.

Mr. HUTT said he had another petition, signed by upwards of 7,000 members of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Kingston-upon-Hull, imploring his Majesty's Government to remit the punishment inflicted upon the six labourers, tried and convicted at the last Dorchester assizes. He (Mr. Hutt) did not stand there as the advocate of the trades' unions; he thought them most mischievous in their operation, both towards society and those who became members of such bodies. But that was entirely distinct from the question at present before them. The question was whether his Majesty's Government, having inflicted the severest penalty the law allowed, had not transgressed the bounds of justice and humanity? He was a member of a secret society, and had taken a secret oath. He was aware at the time that he was infringing the law, but when he had heard that it had only been acted upon once in a period of forty years, he conceived that it was obsolete, and that a fine of 6*d.* would be a sufficient penalty for such a transgression. (Hear, hear). He hoped it would be clearly understood that these individuals

had not been punished for taking a secret oath, but for having been members of the trades' unions. He deplored the conduct of his Majesty's Government towards these men, because there was every reason to hope that these unions were falling to pieces, and would, if not for this step, ere now have been totally annihilated. The law, he admitted, should be vindicated; but that vindication should have been tempered with justice, humanity, and discretion.

M. F. O'CONNOR begged to offer a few observations upon the law of the case, although, in doing so, he might, perhaps, be charged with impertinence in placing his opinion in opposition to that of hon. Gentlemen who had yesterday alluded to the Act of Parliament under which these unfortunate men had been tried. It appeared that they had been tried under the 37th Geo. III., and it appeared also, by a reference to that act, that it was merely enacted against persons who might attempt to seduce sailors and soldiers from their allegiance. The 52nd Geo. III. had been passed for the purpose of explaining that act, and it was an injustice to those men to indict them under the former when the latter was in existence. He (Mr. O'Connor) did not hesitate to say, that if they had been indicted under the 52nd Geo. III., the law would not have been in the slightest degree infringed. [The hon. and learned Member here read a clause from the latter act, to show that it merely related to the administration of illegal oaths, tending to incite to commit murder, treason, or felony, the punishment of which was adjudged by the act to be death.] It was plain, from the nature of the oath and the punishment inflicted, that the crime of these unfortunate men had no reference to the act under which they had been tried. The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Rotch), when he had alluded to the act yesterday, had not read or considered it properly. These unfortunate men had been most unfairly dealt with. Who, he (Mr. O'C.) would ask, should really be in their place at that moment? Those persons who had

used them for their own purposes. (Hear, and a laugh). It might not be the fashion to speak in that manner, or perhaps it might excite laughter; but he (Mr. O'Connor) thought that Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, the Noble Lord the Paymaster of the Forces, and the right honourable the Secretary for the Colonies, should be on board the hulks in place of these unfortunate men (laughter), for they had been distinctly the prime movers and actors in that transaction. (Laughter). They were, in short, accessories before the fact. Now, with respect to the trades' unions. What was it, he would ask, that caused them to adopt the title of political unions? Why, nothing but the imbecile and truckling conduct of the present Whig Government. He was the last man in the world to commend the conduct of those who were guilty, but there could be no doubt that the unfortunate Dorchester labourers had erred without a knowledge of the law against it; and such being the case, he considered the sentence a most severe one. (Hear, hear, hear). Were the present Ministers determined, in spite of everything they had seen and heard, still to stand between the people and the throne, shutting out the royal clemency towards those who had transgressed the law because they were not acquainted with it? The Government were actually intimidated by that which they had raised themselves into power, and thought themselves justified in pursuing so severe a course, for the purpose of putting an end to the very power they had themselves raised. Would the men listen to reason? Would they still go on hurrying the people from their allegiance? If they did, all he could say was, their perseverance and folly would almost make rebellion a virtue. For his own part, he had no hesitation in saying they would go on as long as they could find gentlemen to cheer them from behind; but, if they did, they must remember that that cheer would soon be lost in the voice of the people. That House was the place to which the people looked for relief, but relief could never be afforded

as long as an imbecile and truckling Ministry sat on the other side of the House. He trusted the Government would adopt a different line of conduct, for they might be assured, if they did not, when convulsion came they would be taught what it was to stand between his Majesty and his subjects.

Mr. ROTCH did not consider himself called upon to answer the observations of the hon. Member, as the act upon which he had relied was an act subsequent to the act on which those persons had been convicted. He would leave the hon. and learned Member to make out a better case; when he quoted the act on which he (Mr. Rotch) had given his opinion, he would then meet him.

Mr. F. O'CONNOR, in explanation, observed that he had not relied upon the act to which the hon. Member had alluded. What he had said was, that it was most unjust to indict a person under an act when there was a subsequent act passed to explain it.

Mr. WASON had no doubt of the legality of the sentence passed on those unhappy men. The right honourable Baronet, the Member for Cumberland, said that two days had been spent in considering their case; but then the object of inquiry was not whether the sentence was justifiable by the laws of criminal jurisprudence. Every one knew that when it became the duty of a judge to pronounce sentence of transportation for any crime, it could not be for a less term than seven years; and he (Mr. Wason) was sure, that if such a time as three years could be given to those men for punishment, the learned judge would have willingly limited their sufferings to that period. Let no doubt be entertained, then, of the legality of the sentence; let the consideration alone be, why the Government did not interpose, as their authority could alone have interposed to render the heavy sentence of those men somewhat lighter.

Colonel EVANS was of opinion that the learned judge was not amenable to censure. The entire affair rested with his Majesty's Government. The question was one of great importance to the

country; it bore on several relations of national interest and justice; therefore, if the Under Secretary of the Home-office were present, it would be much better than that he should be absent, as a satisfactory inquiry might be made into the subject. No person was more adverse than he (Colonel Evans) was to trades' unions; he should not defend them, because he considered that industry was a description of property, and the most sacred (hear, hear,) species of property. He was most anxious to extend protection to that, if such protection was quite inconsistent with any improper spirit of revolt, or undue means of intimidation; he consequently thought that his Majesty's Government was perfectly right in inflicting some punishment on those men, but it should have been a lighter one. (Hear).

Col. WILLIAMS had a petition from his constituents to present on the subject of those men, but as they had sailed it was of course of no use to do it.

Mr. AGLIONBY could account for the absence of the noble Lord (Howick). He was pleased to come down to the House because he (Mr. Aglionby) intimated to him that he had two petitions to present which required the attention of the noble Lord, however, he (Mr. Aglionby) found that he could not present those petitions that day, because they were not on the list, and he apprized the noble Lord of it, upon which he left the House. Regarding the punishment of those men at Dorchester, a measure should be brought specially before the House, by which a remission of their very severe sentence might be procured. It was due to the general feeling that existed through the country to pay a proper attention to their case, and he hoped that it would be given.

Mr. EWART presented a petition from 14,700 inhabitants of Liverpool in favour of an extension of mercy to the men convicted at Dorchester, and said it would in one day more have had 10,000 more signatures. They were chiefly members of friendly societies, men of a peaceable disposition. The hon. and learned Member supported the prayer

of the petition: admitting that the prisoners had violated the letter of the law, yet he did not think the act was intended to extend to the case of those unhappy men.

Lord SANDON regretted that the present opportunity given to Government was misapplied for holding out some lenient measures to induce the trades' unions to give up their misguided views.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR rose for the purpose of moving for papers connected with a subject which had frequently engaged the attention of their lordships, which was at present occupying the attention of distinguished persons in the House of Commons, and which was closely connected with the morals of the labouring classes, he meant education. The bill passed in the time of Charles the First for the erection of schools in the parishes of Scotland was well adapted to the time. Nothing was more different than the situation of Scotland, when that measure was passed into a law, and the present situation of England. It was thought a matter of course that every person, as a friend of national education, because the system had succeeded in Scotland, should be a friend to the introduction of the measure, at the present time and circumstances, into England. The circumstances were different. In Scotland at that time there were no schools, and it was therefore the best thing to plant a school in each parish, with a schoolmaster at a small salary. They had unfortunately great experience of rates in England, and fortunately experience of schools too, which they had not in Scotland in the 17. century. It would be attended with evil if there was a school in each parish sustained by a rate. People would not, as now, support them by voluntary contributions; which he did not mean to say were sufficient. There was great difficulty in raising the voluntary subscriptions, and surely it would increase by being collected by the tax-gatherer. In a paper he held in his hand, in Bed-

fordshire in 1818, there were 136 day-schools of all sorts, while this year there were 244, being an increase at the rate of five to three. The scholars during the same time in that county had increased from 3,980 to 5,632. The scholars who attended the Sunday-schools in 1818, amounted to 4,738, and now to 15,234. In Manchester the increase of daily and Sunday-schools was rapidly increasing since 1832. In that year there were but fifteen day-schools, now there were 224. The Sunday-schools increased in the same proportion, and it was not too much to suppose that in other places a proportionate increase had taken place of scholars. There were in Manchester in 1818, 8,000 in those schools. In 1833 there were 24,400. He would not propose that a sum should be granted towards the establishment of schools, nor would he propose a compulsory rate in order to endow and support them. If a compulsory rate were established, then there would undoubtedly be a considerable risk that voluntary contributions would cease. In fact, if once institutions of this kind were compulsorily supported, he foresaw that all voluntary contributions must necessarily be withdrawn. (Hear). It was, however, imperative on the Government and the Parliament to take up the subject; but he should by no means propose that a grant of the full sum necessary should be made. In fact, 1,200,000*l.* a year, would not be sufficient in such case of compulsory support; and these schools would not take root, as there would not be that interest in their support that there is when they are partly upheld by voluntary contribution. It was to be lamented that the labouring classes of London were not so anxious, and had not that thirst for education that existed in other parts of the country: but so it was. In Ireland he (the noble Lord) was informed, that when a school was opened, the people flocked to it to have their children instructed. He had heard that this was the case, and he did not doubt it in the least. The Irish peasantry had a thirst for knowledge, which was only to be equalled in Scotland, the working classes

of which latter country were, to his own knowledge, most anxious to be morally and religiously educated. In the case of voluntary subscriptions to schools, all the subscribers took a deep interest in them, and each induced another to subscribe and send his children to them. The House of Commons had made a grant of 20,000*l.* in 1818, upon the principle that an equal sum be subscribed to that advanced out of this fund for the establishment of schools. This plan had a good effect; and that plan he should now recommend to the House. The noble and learned Lord, notwithstanding all the observations of the critics on his conduct, thought he had proved there might be risk in substituting a school rate. He could never admit that such a system ought to be adopted. He should rather prefer what the French called normal schools. He was no advocate for the Prussian system of education. It would never do in England to have teaching by command of sergeants and corporals and the beat of drum. The people would not be compelled to send their children to school. He was disposed to leave the education of children to voluntary contributions. Mr. Gilbert had made the voluntary contributions in support of education amount to only 300,000*l.* which he had always suspected to be considerable under the real amount. By the last returns of the commissioners of education, he found that, notwithstanding the abuses of public charities, in fifteen counties, the total amount of charities for education was 428,000*l.* giving between 28 and 29,000*l.* for each of the fifteen counties. There could be no doubt that sum had greatly promoted education. He knew that many public charities were diverted from the intention of the founders. Donations intended to provide instruction were misapplied; devoted, he might say, to the worst purposes. In many instances the trustees had refused to deviate from what was considered the original object of the charity, although that object in the present day was found to be pernicious rather than useful. The noble and learned Lord instanced the case of

the Foundling Hospital. It was originally intended for a benevolent institution, but became a nursery for vice, contrary to the intention of the founders. It was no longer an hospital for foundlings, but an institution prejudicial to society. The gross ignorance of trustees had, in too many instances, led to an obstinate refusal to make those alterations which they ought to make. He should be disposed to listen to the suggestions made in Parliament, namely, that trustees had no right to act on wrong principles, and if they did not properly apply funds in their hands, it was the duty of Parliament to make them execute their trusts faithfully and properly. The noble and learned Lord concluded by moving for a return of the amount of charities in aid of education in the different counties of England and Wales.

The Earl of MALMESBURY did not take the same views as the noble and learned lord. He could not admit that Government ought to interfere in the education of the people. He was enabled, from long observation, to speak in the highest terms of Sunday-schools, in which the children of the poor received the best education they could receive. It was suited to their condition in life, and calculated to make them good members of society. He did not like the normal schools. He preferred the national schools as established in almost every part of the kingdom. If it were desirable to establish a school in a village, the parties had only to send to a national school and they could be supplied with respectable teachers. The noble earl would say to his Majesty's Government—Do not interfere with the education of the people.

The LORD CHANCELLOR considered it essential that some mode should be adopted to qualify persons who were called upon to instruct others, and the normal schools in France furnished it. He had already spoken against the compulsory system, to which he would never give his assent.

LORD WYNFORD thought it would have been better if this subject had been discussed upon due notice. Some

of the topics introduced by his noble and learned Friend were too serious to be passed over lightly. He was ready to correct abuses in the administration of charitable funds; but could not join in the censure of trustees without a legal investigation of their conduct. Charges contained in reports were not that sort of evidence which gave a right to pronounce the parties guilty. They were subject only to the legal tribunals. With respect to education, he was convinced that the greatest praise was due to that class which had of late been calumniated. The clergy, by their desire to educate children, and their example in every town and parish of the kingdom, had done more good than could be effected by any system sanctioned by Parliament. The only objection to Sunday and parochial schools was this:—Parents would not permit their children to remain long enough under teachers. The moment children were of sufficient age to work, they were taken away. He did not charge that as a crime. It was the unfortunate state of poverty in which they were placed. The noble and learned Lord might exert himself to improve the condition of the poor, but he thought no good could be done by interference in the present system of education. He could not approve of national education by legislative enactments.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said he had made his observations respecting trustees from the report of the Charity Commissioners, duly appointed by the crown. He never intended to say they ought to proceed against trustees without having all the parties before a court of justice. The noble and learned Lord admitted that education had received great benefit from the clergy of the established church, but who commenced it? Why, the Dissenters. (Hear, hear). Bell and Lancaster promulgated systems of teaching which had gradually led to the formation of the many schools which then did honour to the country. His royal highness the late Duke of Kent, whose memory was dear to every man, with the Duke of Sussex and Lord Somerville, were

churchmen who promoted education, but all the others were Dissenters. They formed the British and Foreign Bible Societies, and other institutions which had done so much good; he however did not deny that the clergy of the established church had done much good; but they did not originate the plans for education. Himself and Lord Lansdowne were the only two churchmen in a society for the establishment of schools in Westminster—the rest were Dissenters. (Hear, hear). There was a "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge"; they had reduced the price of books to a standard which enabled the poor to buy and read. That standard gave satisfaction to all but dealers in books. He said to his coadjutors, when the society was formed, "As soon as we succeed, our friends and useful assistants, the clergy of the established church, will come forward." The prophecy was made out. Soon after they published the "Penny Magazine," the parties to whom he had alluded brought out the "Church Magazine." He would not say that the established church followed the Dissenters; but, in the work of education, they certainly did not lead.

LORD WYNFORD had observed from his infancy the ministers of the established church active in promoting education. Many useful societies had been formed by the church for that object long before the period to which his noble and learned Friend alluded.

The returns were then ordered.

EXTRAORDINARY PROCEEDINGS AT OLDHAM.

Seizure of the Books and Papers, and of two Members of the Trades' Union—one Man killed—the two Unionists rescued.

(From the Morning Chronicle, 17. April, 1834.)

A most lamentable occurrence has taken place at Oldham, in consequence of the unexpected seizure of the books and two members of the Trades' Union, on Monday evening, the 14. inst. It appears that a Trades' Union meets at a

public-house known by the sign of William the Fourth, and that a meeting took place at the time and place above stated. Two officers, of the names of Heywood and Page, it is said, went to the house in question about half-past six on Monday evening, and requested admittance, but which request was of course refused, especially when it was known who the applicants were. Little further ceremony was used, and a forcible entrance was the result, and a capture made *instantly* of the books and papers (some say among the books there were the fragments of a Bible), along with two members of the Union and officers of the Society. The news of this seizure, &c. soon spread far and wide, and the town, on the mills ceasing work, soon presented an astonishing increase of people. Nothing, however, was attempted in the way of either intimidation or of insult during the whole evening; yet it was plain, even to the most superficial observer, that something was brewing in the minds of the multitude, which foreboded not peace nor yet good-will to man. The morning of Tuesday, however, was ushered in by a total cessation of work in many factories, the operatives having, as by instinct, re-assembled so early as seven in the morning, with the determination no doubt, if an opportunity were only afforded of rescuing their brother members from the illegal clutches (as they no doubt thought) of the police. This opportunity was afforded them soon after ten o'clock; and as the route of the captives to Hollenwood (a place about two miles from Oldham, and the residence of the Rev. J. Holme, the magistrate) was by the side of a factory, the populace on passing it were surprised—astonished, perhaps, would be a better term—by the discharge of a musket, apparently from the porter at the lodge of the mill; and this gratuitous folly and insult was twice or thrice repeated. These reports brought, as might be expected they would, the *knobsticks** in the mill to the windows,

* A term that is given to a class of operatives who work at less than the Trades List, and with which this mill was filled.

who, it also appeared, were furnished with arms, and who acted the very foolish part of the porter in making repeated discharges with *blank* cartridge. One shot, however, did not prove like the others, for it took effect, and a man, an operative spinner, named Bentley, was killed in a moment, and the body now lies at the King William waiting the coroner's inquest, viz., that of Mr. Ferrard, who distinguished himself in 1819. The multitude, on seeing one of their body fall, appeared for a short time paralysed; but their courage was not long dormant: one individual, more bold than the rest, led the way by scaling the palisades; and at this person several muskets, it is asserted, were directed, but producing no effect, the rest took instant resolution and demolished, in a few minutes, not less than 4,000 or 5,000 panes of glass, and a great number of the window-frames, and a quantity of machinery. Another party at the same time attacked the dwelling-house of Mr. Thomson, the occupier of the mill, and which adjoin each other, every article in which was quickly demolished; even to the scattering the feathers in the beds to the winds. I must not forget to state, that the party, not content with simply rescuing their brethren, assailed their conductors one of whom they beat severely: the other, and the more obnoxious of the two, they without ceremony threw over a high wall, some twelve or thirteen feet high from the top of the wall to the ground beneath, on which he fell. He does not, however, appear to have suffered much injury. Immediately on these things being completed, there arrived two troops of Lancers from Manchester, say about eleven o'clock; and in the course of another hour, four companies of infantry (one troop of the Lancers returned again at three in the afternoon). Although the military could be of no use in quelling the disturbance, their presence must have been of important benefit in allaying, if any existed, the fears and apprehensions of the timid. There does not appear at this moment any disposition in the multitude to persevere in acts of violence;

indeed, it would be difficult, if not quite impossible, to find an individual, of whatever political creed, to say that he was seriously alarmed.

It is only just to add the general opinion, which is, that the magistrates have had no hand, direct or otherwise, in this "untoward" event; but on the officers who made the caption rests the sole responsibility. A day or two will explain this important tragedy. The inquest will, it is thought, be held on Thursday.

LOCUST TREES.

I HAVE about seven thousand of these left; and I sell them at five pounds a thousand. They can be had at **BOLT-COURT** at any time, in six days after they are ordered. They are very fine, having been removed, and having the finest roots possible. Any one who plants them ought to have my book called the **WOODLANDS**, or he will not do it well.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at **BOLT-COURT** for eight shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from eight to ten thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

I notified, some time ago, that I should not make any distinction in price, whether a single pound, or a number of pounds were sold; but, by some mistake, the old prices were inserted in a recent *Register*. The prices will, for the present, be as follows:

Deep red **MANGEL WURZEL** Seed, 9d. a pound. — **SWEDISH TURNIP** Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England, 9d. a pound. — **ITALIAN CLOVER** SEED, one shilling and threepence a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those

sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the **KNIGHT-PEA**, not contained in my list of last year. The **EARLY-FRAME** pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan,
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Kale—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.

33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

POOR-LAWS.

LETTER II.

Ev'n in the peaceful rural vale,
Truth, weeping, tells the mournful tale;
How pampered Luxury, Flatt'ry by her side,
The parasite poisoning her ear,
With all the servile wretches in the rear,
Looks o'er proud property extending wide;
And eyes the simple rustic hind,
Whose toil upholds the glitt'ring show,
A creature of another kind;
Some coarser substance, unrefin'd,
Plac'd for her lordly use, thus far, thus vile,
below. BURNS.

Dunfermline, 13. April, 1834.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND,—The intense interest which I feel in the approaching parliamentary discussion on the poor-laws, must be my apology for troubling you with another letter on that important subject. Our enemies mean to proceed by *strategie*; and although I cannot doubt that you have carefully

observed their motions, an experienced general will not despise the suggestions of a subaltern or private, who may have obtained information of their deep devices, and secret designs. It may be well too, that these should be known through the whole encampment of our friends.

On your arrival in Scotland, I hastened to solicit your attention to an article on emigration, in the 93. number of the *Edinburgh Review*; and to that article I would now beg the attention of your readers; especially of those who take an interest in the condition of the poor. Althorp's Bill, which I understand will be in accordance with the first advice of the inhuman reviewer: "Give no allowance to able-bodied paupers out of (unless in) the work-house," is bad enough; very bad, indeed; yet, if passed, *it will only be the beginning of sorrows to the labouring poor*: that is, if the Whig Malthusians are suffered to carry into effect their hellish inventions.

I have not at present, the *Review* within my reach, but the leading principles and objects, and many of the phrases and sentences of the paper referred to, are engraven on my memory; so that my quotations will be literal or very nearly so.

The writer (whether "old Harry" himself, I mean he of flesh and blood, or an inferior devil I do not know) commences with the assertion, that "the population of Ireland is greatly redundant"; and asks whether any one can doubt this. I have no doubt at all on this subject, sir: I wholly deny the truth of your assertion. Do you mean to say, that in Ireland there are more mouths than there are meal for? Is this what you mean by "redundant population"? Then, let Ireland retain the corn, the bacon, beef, butter, and other articles of provision and of use which she sends to Britain and elsewhere, and let these be equally or fairly divided among her inhabitants; and we shall see whether your proposition will hold good as a postulate. Ah! but "the population of Ireland is greatly redundant, as compared with her pro-

ductive capital"; and, of course, her population must be *thinned* by transportation or starvation; this is the drift of the argument in plain English, and the same is applied to Britain. Senseless idiot! *the population of Ireland, or that of the United Kingdom generally, is not too great, but the productive capital is too small*; or rather, it is not fairly divided, or allowed to remain in the hands of its rightful owners, those who produce it. Cease then, to recommend the transportation or the murder (murder by *starvation*, the most cruel of all means) of your fellow-men, under the most impudent of all pretences, that the country cannot produce for them food and means of employment! If there are any brains in your thick skull, or if the little which frugal nature may have given you, have not oozed out at the crack, I will show you, allegorically, the absurdity, as well as the wickedness of your infernal dogma.

"Here are the shoes, Miss Neatfoot, made agreeably to your obliging order: please try how they fit."

"Ah! Mr. Crispin (pressing in a handsome foot, biting a pretty lip, and distorting her fine feature), these shoes won't do: they are too small."

"No, madam, the shoes are not too small: your feet are too large."

"It may be so, my good man; but make me another pair, still *larger* than my large feet, so as I may walk in them with ease."

"I'll be *strapped* if I do. What, the devil! would you make me accessory to the production of redundant *footation*? Give you easy shoes, indeed! and who can say to what extent your feet may, or may not, grow? There will not be leather enough in the country to make into shoes for you all. And ye'll be running after the men, too; or gadding about in order to attract the notice of young fellows void of feelosofy! and thus we shall have redundant footation and redundant population at one and the same time. Young as you are, your feet are already 'greatly redundant as compared with' the size of the lasts:

"can any man doubt this"? The new grand principle of the Crispin feelosofy is, that *feet are made for shoes, not shoes for feet*, as the vulgar imagine; and the reverend chaplain of our lodge, the 'great man, Mr. Malthus; *'mites sapientia'*! exclaims the Edinburgh reviewer, when he but mentions his name; Mr. Malthus, madam, a gentleman profoundly *hedekated*, deeply read in *feelosofy*, and fully versed in the mysteries of *footology*, which is the greatest of all the 'sciences'; he, madam, has demonstrated that the maximum of lasts is nine inches: and our lodge, with consent, and by advice, of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, has determined accordingly. A model of a foot compressor we are about to import from China; and, by the bones of Sir Hugh, we shall have your feet, as was attempted with those of the sisters of Cinderella, according to an old version of the story, reduced to proper dimensions, and made to *fit the slipper* ere we have done with you."

Here the father of the girl, having overheard the dialogue, rushes into the parlour, collars me, and kicks me down stairs. So, Mr. Cobbett, ought the people of Britain and Ireland to treat these mad theorists and cursed Malthusians. You, friend of the poor, will blacken the eyes of Althorp, and the rest of the crew within the honourable House: out of doors, I should like to have a switching at the shouters of the hussey Martineau. There is no regularity in the wish, for at all events *she* (if we must use the feminine pronoun) will not trouble the world with any addition to its population.

Give a dog an ill name, and you may hang him if you will. The reviewer, aware that humanity must revolt at the suggestion he offers as to the modes by which the surplus population is to be got rid of, endeavours to steel the hearts of his readers against all sympathy with the poor, by representing the latter as already, the most wretched, vile loathsome, and noxious to society; and as death to such vermin would be, at once,

a relief to themselves, and a blessing to the community, had he proposed to "kill them off" by the easiest and quickest method, an apology might have been made for him on the score of humanity: but of this afterwards. Hear now, how he speaks of the labouring poor.

The poor labourers of England, he calls, "beggars": their children are "beggars' brats"; their cottages, "beggars' nests"; their village inhabitants "colonies of beggars," I think he says, "infesting or encumbering the estates of gentlemen": and the Irish labourers driven from their own country to seek for employment and food in Britain, are "locusts that eat up every green thing"!!

Look again at the motto, and see how this miscreant verifies in good earnest what the poet writes satirically. Here is, indeed, Flattery, whether in the person of a parasite or principal is of no consequence, empoisoning the ear of pampered Luxury, till she succeeds in making her view the rustic hind, and the working people generally, as

Creatures of another kind;
Some coarser substance, unrefined,
Made for her use.

A certain number of the beggars are necessary to uphold the glittering show; the "surplus," and, especially, the sick and superannuated, let them die and be damned; and let their bodies be sold for dissection, as the skins of worn-out horses are sold to the tanner! This is the spirit of the system. Luxury readily imbibes it; and Luxury is the presiding *demoness* in the legislature; but, lest her own genius should not be sufficiently fertile and wicked for the invention of means suitable to the attainment of the end in view, the reviewer offers plans which hell itself could not have suggested. Reader, if you have a heart within your bosom, prepare for its utmost expansion, most violent action, and extreme palpitation: if warm blood, mixed with a due proportion of the milk of human kindness, circulates through your veins and arteries, it will boil at the mere mention of the damnable

contrivances! O God! why are such monsters permitted to tread thy earth? O men! avoid, shun, hate, despise, abhor, and detest them. But these must be the subject of another letter.

Poor man's friend,
I am,
your friend and servant,
T. MORRISON, sen.

"Mr. Cobbett, M.P.
"Bolt-court."

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

HARRIS, G., Winchester-house, Broad-st.,
corn factor.
HOLDSWORTH, J. and R., Wakefield, cloth-
manufacturers.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

PRICE, G., Sneinton, Nottinghamshire, twist
net-manufacturer.

BANKRUPTS.

ASKEY, T., Leadenhall-street, jeweller.
BARNETT, T., Barford, Warwickshire,
butcher.
DAVIES, T. C., Wrexham, Denbighshire,
grocer.
HADDEN, D., Liverpool, iron-manufacturer.
HARDCASTLE, W., Beaufort-place, Chel-
sea, ironmonger.
HARDING, T., Worcester, glove-manufac-
turer.
PHILPOT, W., Monythusloyne, Monmouth-
shire, merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

LORIMER, J. and J., Edinburgh, builders.

TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 1834.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SWELLS, J. T., draper, Tamworth, Stafford-
shire.

BANKRUPTS.

BRETHERTON, P., Liverpool, and Parr, St.
Helens, stage-coach-proprietor.
COOKE, W., Liberties of Hereford, coal-
merchant.
HUCKERBY, S., Scalford, Leicestershire,
fellmonger.
MERRY, R., jun., Norwich, corn and coal-
merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 14.—
The supplies of Wheat fresh up to this morn-
ing's market from Essex were liberal, but
from Kent and Suffolk limited. At the com-
mencement of the day the finer descriptions
of Wheat, particularly white samples, were
taken off rather freely, but when these quali-
ties disappeared, the trade relapsed, and the
market closed with a heavy aspect. The
secondary and inferior qualities met with lit-
tle attention, and remained nominally the
same in value. Some little inquiry existed
for bonded corn, without, however, leading to
any actual business.

The supply of Barley was short, but fully
adequate to the demand. Malting qualities
supported their previous rates, but secondary
and inferior samples were very dull at their
former currency.

Malt was in limited request, and to have
forced sales, lower terms must have been sub-
mitted to.

The receipt of Oats were moderate. Good
fresh English and Scotch Corn supported
Friday's improvement of 6d. per qr., and Irish
samples, in instances, brought rather more
money. The trade, however, was not so
brisk as at the termination of last week, as
dealers generally were not inclined to accede
to the advanced demands.

Beans were steady in value, with a fair
inquiry.

White Peas supported fully last Monday's
improvement, and samples came sparingly to
hand. In Maple and Grey no change was ex-
perienced.

Flour was held on last week's terms, and
the trade generally appeared to have assumed
a firmer aspect. Top quotations remain at
45s. to 46s. per sack for town-made qualities.

Wheat	45s. to 57s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	22s. to 24s.
— fine	28s. to 30s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	32s. to 37s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	31s. to 37s.
— Tick	26s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	21s. to 23s.
— Feed	16s. to 19s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 46s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	95s. to 100s.
— Mess, new ...	55s. to 57s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ...	66s. to 70s. per cwt.
— Carlow	50s. to 70s.
— Cork ...	56s. to 60s.
— Limerick ...	56s. to 58s.
— Waterford ...	50s. to 70s.
— Dublin ...	50s. to 52s.

SMITHFIELD, April 14.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and
Lambs was good, both as to numbers and

quality, the supply of Calves and Porkers rather limited. Trade was, throughout dull. With Veal at a depression of 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Beef, Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were Scots and No-folk home-breds; about a fourth short-horns; and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts; with about 100 Herefords, as many Irish, and about fifty Sussex beasts, about eighty Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to two of the latter; about a fourth South-Downs, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of old Lincolns, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somerses, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 5,000, appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Leicesters, half-breds of mixed crosses, Dorsets and South-Downs, with a few Kentish half-breds, &c.

About 2,200 of the Beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots and home-breds, about three-eighths short-horns, and the remaining eighth for the most part, about equal numbers of runts and Devons, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200, chiefly short-horns, with a few Devons, Herefords, Welsh runts and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, &c.; about 150, chiefly Devons, with a few runts, Herefords, and Irish beasts, from our western and mid-land districts; about eighty, a full moiety of which were Sussex beasts, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, and runts, with a few Scots and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

Nearly the whole of the polled white-faced Sheep were out of their wool. Not near the whole of the beasts were in the market at its commencement, several hundreds having been kept back till some of those which were in first were sold and turned out, for the purpose of diminishing the apparent bulk of the supply.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 12.

The arrivals this week are small. The market is dull at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	90½	91	91	91½	91½	90½

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